

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
● [682] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this
678] to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife, ' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In
such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is
completely incorrect to speak
in such a case of "amuck";
this term covers an entirely
different psychic state. Compare
Professor van Wulfften Palthe,
"De psychologie van de amok
/The Psychology of the Amok/, "
Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental
encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless
was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he
/215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however,
he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way
unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor.
Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out
than to kill.

627 Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
671 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
682 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
684 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation
because every Makassarese immediately understands this
involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that,
sympathizes with his deed.

[695] Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado.
They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as
a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they
want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves
671 completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In
682 a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind
684 hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation.
Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-
elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected
in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce
him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she

[626]

1. Makassarese colonists in
Paria reported that their wives
were much more faithful than
the Buginese, who often re-
married very soon once their
husbands were absent for a
longer period of time, for
whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has
shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should
want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a
bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she
wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get
married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet
"a socially recognized union between members of the opposite
sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study
of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri is out of the question.
The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter,

[488] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from
her parents (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
558 in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
588 generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation
knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears
about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however.
Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.

[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
521 a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great
dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody
likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the
danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the
preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person
who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman
[672] who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand
remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and
darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a

● [682] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672 than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit.

The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere,"
was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and
thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

Sumatra 0D1
 Ngadju 0C9
 Javanese 0E5
 Makassar 0B6

S [457 cont.]

672 I his dusun or marga are no longer willing to be responsible for
 626 his acts, then they give the pasirah (the marga chief) one buffalo
 and ten Spanish piasters [matten]. The Spanish piasters are
 divided among the pasirah of the division, and the buffalo is
 slaughtered and eaten. The pasirah then hand out a document
 saying that the above person is buwang surat = outlawed. If
 he should then commit crime elsewhere, his relatives, duson,
 or marga are no longer responsible. If such a person is killed
 somewhere or suffers some other ill-treatment, no one troubles
 himself about it. Before he becomes buwang surat, however,
 his family, duson, or marga is obliged to pay his old debts and
 to settle the cases against him.

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 N
 S
 J
 I
 682 f. Wergild

We shall now briefly discuss the principal crimes.

682 First, there is homicide. This requires the payment of blood
 money, the wergild of the ancient Germans. On Java the expres-
 sion used for this is dijat, the Arabic dijat, the same designation
 for the same thing. Among other peoples, however, original na-
 tive names are found. For instance, on Sumatra the blood price
 is generally called bangun, a word that actually means "rise,
 stand up." Among the Dajak of the southeastern division the fine
 for murder is called bali, the Malayan béli, the radical word of
měmběli = to buy. The Makassarese use the words sapu and
tokkong for wergild, although the latter is also used for the com-
 pensation in money or value for things, for example, in the case
 of theft. There is a noteworthy similarity [458] between tokkong
 and the Malayan bangun in that this likewise means "rise, stand
 up." The idea is for the slain to rise again by a payment as com-
 pensation for him. "To cause to rise" and "to compensate" are
 thus synonymous concepts in this case, and from this comes the
 designation bangun for wergild.

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 681 What has already been noted about all fines, namely, that
 682 they are regarded less as punishment than as compensation,

Nias	OD11
Minangkabau	OD10
Redjang-Lampung	OD12
Makassar	OD6
Batak	OD5

N [461 cont.]

682 on the third day, then the death penalty is executed. This execution is not done by the victim's relatives, but is handled by the public authorities. Among other peoples, too, it is the rule [682] to put the culprit to death if the wergild is not paid in full. 567

Where this is not desired, he is made a slave or bondman of the chief or of the person in whose favor the sentence was pronounced, as is the case, as we have seen, among the Malays, for example.

MN It is self-evident that the wergild reverts to the relatives of the murdered person. It is a rule among some peoples, however, that part of it is granted to the chiefs who passed the sentence. We find an example of this among the Minangkabau Malays. Where this rule does not exist, an extra fine is not infrequently imposed on the culprit on behalf of the chiefs. We

RL find this mentioned for the Redjang and the people of Pasemah.

MN Also, in various regions of Benkulen, homicide is punished, not only by the bangun, but also by a fine to [462] the council of chiefs. Of the peoples outside Sumatra, we want to call attention only to the Makassarese and the Buginese. When the party

MX guilty of homicide is sentenced to pay the sapu or tokkong, the 682 wergild, a fine is also imposed, which is as large as the wergild and is called tonra. This word, at least in Buginese, actually means "to draw on, to drag on"; the fine is called this because it is dragged on by the sapu or tokkong, that is, it follows the I sapu or tokkong.

MN We can be brief about bodily injuries. As in the case of 683 homicide, this, too, requires the payment of some compensation, MN called pampas among the Minangkabau Malays. The amount depends primarily on the nature of the injuries inflicted.

N There are two more crimes to be noted, theft and adultery. MX I As we have seen above, the law of vengeance is still generally 685 applied upon discovery in the act. If this law is not applied, then among some peoples the punishment for this crime is simply the return of what was stolen or its value in compensation, and if the thief cannot do this, then to serve the owner as slave or bondman. Among a few peoples, besides the return of what was

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-
689 meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
513 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to
682 prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As
505 for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls' ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
842 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
574 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.